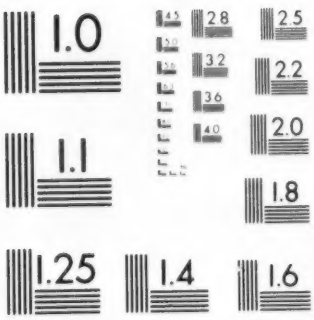

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, the subject of bias in historical materials is examined. Three articles and two reviews are presented. The articles are: (1) "How Multicultural Educational Materials Affect Children," by Neil J. Kressel and James W. Loewen; (2) "Pluralist History and Public Relations History," by James W. Loewen; and (3) "Televised History and Race Relations: The Impact of Roots and Holocaust," by Neil J. Kressel. The books "America Revised," by Frances FitzGerald, and "Minority Education and Caste," by John W. Ogbu are reviewed by Robert B. Moore and Barbara J. Shade, respectively. Each article includes a bibliography on the subject. (APM)

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THE PRESENCE OF THE PAST:

HISTORY "FOR" AND "AGAINST" MINORITIES

". . . I remember phrases from my history book like, Santa Anna Knew that he was dealing with a superior class of men (Angolos)." It is phrases like that, that stay in my mind, they stay on the surface, but they keep drilling this junk into your heads until it gets to your subconscious . . . what am I--inferior or something?"

--Mexican-American student reflecting on his social studies education, quoted in Poussaint (1970).

HOW MULTICULTURAL EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS AFFECT CHILDREN, by Neil J. Kressel and James W. Loewen. Recent research reviews show the difference that pluralist texts and films make.

PLURALIST HISTORY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS HISTORY: A preseciption for change by James W. Loewen. Public relations history damages minority students and bores children of the majority. Exciting, true, conflict-filled texts are the antidote; this article tells how they can be produced and adopted.

TELEVISED HISTORY AND RACE RELATIONS: THE IMPACT OF ROOTS AND HOLOCAUST, by Neil J. Kressel. More TV viewers saw Roots than the Super Bowl; almost as many watched Holocaust. Do such shows increase racial tension or lessen it? This article examines evidence from eleven social science surveys and draws implications for future programming.

REVIEW: FITZGERALD, AMERICA REVISED, by Robert B. Moore. This widely praised analysis of American history texts suffers from an inadequate understanding of institutional racism.

REVIEW: OGBU, MINORITY EDUCATION AND CASTE, by Barbara J. Shade. Why do many blacks fail tests and hate school? Ogbu's history of the impact of social structure on education suggests our schools produce the kind of black performance our society has "wanted."

DEPARTMENTS
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From the Director
Seeking Social Science

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U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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A large volume of research has shown that minorities have been treated unfairly in public school history textbooks (Golden, 1964; Stampp, 1965; Kane, 1970; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1980, 5-12). Until recently, most texts avoided the harsh realities of racial and ethnic conflict, instead concentrating on cheerier aspects of American life.

How this Pollyanna history affects schoolchildren, however, is by no means obvious. Do textbooks play a major role in the formation of minority students' self-concepts? Can biased books influence their career goals? How about the effects of biased texts on the racial attitudes of affluent white children? Schoolbooks may not change attitudes very much. After all, school is only a small part of a child's life and textbooks are only a small part of school. Perhaps beliefs and feelings are too firmly established to be modified by texts.

Recent research suggests otherwise. Biased textbooks frequently lead to many undesirable consequences; fair texts, on the other hand, can result in changes for the better. The United States Commission on Civil Rights has just published a brief report, Characters in Textbooks: A Review of the Literature, summarizing the effects of racial and ethnic images on children (1980, 13-19). Here are some of its findings:

***Litcher and Johnson investigated the effects of all-white and multi-ethnic readers on second grade white students' attitudes towards blacks. Four independent measures of racial attitudes demonstrated that children who used multi-ethnic readers developed markedly more favorable attitudes towards blacks than did the comparison group.

***Tauran investigated the impact of stories that were favorable and unfavorable towards Eskimos. The children's attitudes towards Eskimos were altered, positively or negatively, consistent with the attitudes in the reading materials.

***Roth found that Pontiac, Michigan, black fifth graders given black social studies materials showed greater racial pride and somewhat better self-concept. Also, they developed more positive attitudes towards whites.

***Poussaint, through extensive interviewing, determined that white supremacist social studies materials frequently disgusted minority students and enraged them. Students felt that they were asked to contentedly accept subordinate status.

***Yee and Fruth studied the impact of black studies materials on elementary school students' retention and understanding of a social studies curriculum. They found that students given the black studies materials made significantly higher achievement scores.

***Sandberg and White divided fifth and sixth graders into two groups at random. Each was given descriptions and pictures of various occupations, the only difference being the worker. Boys and girls showed "greater interest in occupations portrayed by like-sexed models than opposite-sexed models."

Many other studies with similar findings are cited in the Civil Rights Commission report; still others are omitted. Among those not in the report but bolstering its conclusions are Stephenson (1955), Grant (1973), Yawkey (1973), Rotzel et al. (1974), and Gonzalez (1975). Also, Williams (1948) summarizes many early studies of the effectiveness of programs designed to reduce intergroup tensions; several deal with curricular materials.

The Civil Rights Commission report needs to be taken with a few caveats:

***The best textbook in the world probably cannot eradicate the influence of an insensitive or downright racist teacher.

***Textbooks may change attitudes through a Hawthorne effect. Simply introducing change in curricular materials may lead to beneficial results, at least for a time.

***Fair texts are only part of the solution to biased curricula. Adding films, role-playing, sociodrama, and focused discussion groups leads to more pronounced results than changed texts alone (Wieder, 1951; Mitnick and McGinnies, 1958; Lohman, 1970; Banks, 1971).

Still, the evidence indicates that improving textbooks alone makes a difference. Schoolbooks play a significant role in a child's life as "society's officially prescribed and endorsed transmitters of knowledge" and they can enhance or inhibit self-esteem, values, aspirations, and fears (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1980, 19).

Since they do matter, what is to be done about textbooks? The following list of suggestions and resources may prove helpful to persons concerned with balance and fairness in curricular materials.

***Characters in Textbooks: A Review of the Literature (Washington: United States Commission on Civil Rights, May 1980) cites many studies showing bias in schoolbooks and its effects.

***Fair Textbooks: A Resource Guide (Washington: United States Commission on Civil Rights, December 1979) lists many useful books, pamphlets, and other multicultural educational materials. This publication, a must for all people involved in the formation of social studies curricula, also includes some references to the research on textbooks.

***If Your "State History" Is Dull and Biased, Here's How to Fix It, by James W. Loewen (available from Mississippi History Project, c/o James W. Loewen, Department of Sociology, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont 05401) includes a number of useful resources for revising state histories. It also contains two relevant bibliographies, one on "How to Rate Your Textbooks" and another on "Revising State and Local History Books."

***Teaching Ethnic Studies: Concepts and Strategies, edited by James A. Banks (Washington: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), is an excellent introduction to the nuts and bolts techniques used in teaching about minority experiences in America.

***Teaching Social Studies to Culturally Different Children, edited by James A. Banks and William Joyce. (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1971), is another good collection on teaching social studies without the public relations gloss. This volumne outlines some innovative teaching methods including role-playing, sociodrama, and educational games. THose who teach or design programs for classes with many minority students will find this book especially helpful.

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PLURALIST HISTORY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS HISTORY

by James W. Loewen

> I realized that the omission of the black man's history in the American books was a deliberate crime, fostered in order to perpetuate myths and stereotypes, in order to convince the white reading public about the lack of creativity and productivity and worth. I realized too, that it also perpetuates the feeling of inferiority in black children, even as it had done in me.
>
> William Woods, "Niggers Got to Walk" in Children of Longing, ed. by Rosa Guy.

As a result of textbook reforms, counts of the people mentioned in history textbooks or portrayed in their pictures reveal that many now include significant proportions of blacks, Asian-Americans, and other racial and ethnic minorities. But texts have ideological as well as substantive content, and their ideological content is typically "Chamber of Commerce" even while their substantive content has been expanded to include other groups.

This public-relations approach can be seen in the very titles of many history texts: Rise of the American Nation, The Great Republic, The American Pageant. Such titles indicate that these books celebrate the past as well as study it. This isn't how we title other texts, however. High-school chemistry books are called Chemistry, not The Great Molecules. And the problem goes beyond titles: the photographs and texts are overwhelmingly of historic buildings and heads-and-shoulders of famous persons. Unless one believes in reading character from eye-set and the like, such images are of little analytic use. The nine views of George Washington in Rise of the American Nation, including his godlike visage on the cover, promote iconography, not inquiry. When people like Martin Luther King or Fannie Lou Hamer are also included, in photos or text, their treatments are similarly calculated to inspire, to make us deem them great.

Although including figures like King must be welcomed, from this approach the rich grow smug and the poor grow alienated. The message is

clear: the United States is a just and progressive society, all races and both sexes have contributed importantly to its history. How, then, are nonaffluent students to understand their own poverty? It must be "their fault," their family background, their culture. And this is exactly what many students, rich and poor, white as well as black, believe. The poor are at fault. They lack ambition, intelligence, whatever. They/we get what they/we deserve. Both rich and poor students get bored with this kind of history, however, and neither can quite say why.

There is a second way to "integrate" a text racially, sexually, and socioeconomically. Taking the title of James Agee's great work seriously, we can make clear that there were many persons in those disadvantaged classes whose right to be famous has been stripped away from them, who have perished as though they had never been. Such history takes a conflict rather than a "Chamber of Commerce" approach, so all its readers can understand why no woman, black, or Jew has ever been President, why Native American incomes average half those of whites, or why we rank 19th in the world in infant mortality and are slipping. History of this type bores no students, and if carefully done, alienates none either. The pluralist text must not be a collection of "cheap shots" taken at "the Establishment." Instead, like the chemistry book, it must describe and analyze, so that the student develops tools for understanding America's greatness and failures.

Unless pluralist histories get read in the schools, however, writing them is useless. But getting such books through state and local textbook adoption committees can be quite difficult. And a recent decision by a federal district court in Mississippi (Loewen et al. v. Turnipseed et al.) holds that under the free speech and equal protection guarantees of the constitution state education authorities cannot reject pluralist texts merely because they are controversial or because they fully treat the history of minorities. The decision provides a precedent for preventing education officials from acting arbitrarily in rejecting pluralist texts.

Such books, if written to present clearly the world view and structural position of each major group in American society, can desegregate the curriculum of public schools and help realize the objective of true equality of educational opportunity.

RESOURCES AVAILABLE:

The Educational Development Center of the Women's Educational Equity Act Program offers a free catalog of children's textbooks and teaching materials. They are designed to promote a non-racist, non-sexist, and multicultural approach, and include textbooks, films, teacher guides, supplementary texts, audio, and videotape cassettes (rentals from $5.00), modules for inservice training, and workshops as well as classroom activities. Some are prepared for bilingual use. Titles include "The Black Women's Experience in America", "Judge Me, Not My Shell", "Trabajamos", "The Whole Person Book", and "Born Free." The catalog is available from The Education Development Center, Women's Educational Equity Act Program, 55 Chapel St., Newton, MA 02160. They also have a toll-free number: (800) 225-3088 (if inside Massachusetts, call (617) 969-7100.)

The Council on Interracial books for children is a non-profit organization, founded by writers, librarians, teachers and parents to promote anti-racist and anti-sexist literature and teaching materials. It publishes the Bulletin,

conducts workshops on racism and sexism for educators, and initiate programs that bring attention to Third World writers and artists. It has a Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators, which publishes reference books, lesson plans and other multicultural materials; a free catalog is available from CIBC, 1941 Broadway, New York, New York 10023.

The outgoing editor of the CLEARINGHOUSE, Dr. James W. Loewen has prepared a kit for persons interested in checking existing books for racism, sexism, and classism, and developing new curricular materials. People in each state need to do this, partly because state history texts are among the worst offenders. Readers can obtain the kit by sending $5 to Loewen, c/o Department of Sociology, UVM, Burlington, VT 05401. Make checks out to "Mississippi History Project." A grant from the Southern Education Foundation helps subsidize these materials.

TELEVISED HISTORY AND RACE RELATIONS: THE IMPACT OF ROOTS AND HOLOCAUST

by Neil J. Kressel

Roots and Holocaust commanded huge audiences. Although figures vary, approximately 120,000,000 Americans saw at least one episode of Holocaust during April 1978; about 130,000,000 watched Roots in January 1977. Both productions rank among the major television events of all time. Both portrayed racism and prejudice vividly, showing perspectives seldom seen on major television networks. Roots and Holocaust brought their messages to many people beyond the reach of techniques designed specifically to reduce intergroup tensions.

Commentators, however, disagreed about the impact of the two series. Vernon Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, called Roots the "single most spectacular educational experience in race relations in America." With slightly less optimism, Congressman John Conyers maintained that Roots "doesn't cure unemployment or take people out of the ghetto. But it's a democratic statement as eloquent as any that's ever been devised" (Time, 1977). But a National Review (1977) editorial reacted negatively describing Roots as "racially inflamatory" and contributing to the trend of "media myths usurping the authority that should belong to ciritical scholarship."

NBC's Holocaust evoked an equally mixed response. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt saw the film as basically correct and compelling critical and moral reflection (Newsweek, 1979). In Saturday Review, Anthony Burgess (1979) argued that apart from a renewal of shame and horror, Holocaust (and Roots) would produce a "curiously abstracted anger that looks, bewildered, for a viable target." Burgess continued, "It's no good hating tyrants who don't exist anymore, and it would be unfair to direct one's enmity at either liberal Germans or (in the case of blacks) breast-beating Americans." Also on the negative side, several German-American leaders cited the NBC presentation as the starting point of an increase in anti-German ethnic slurs (Kneeland, 1978). Finally, some Jewish leaders agreed with Elie

Wiesel's judgment that Holocaust was inaccurate and transformed an historic tragedy into a soap opera.

Unfortunately, the debate in the popular press leads to more questions than answers. Four types of questions are posed frequently.

First, do Roots and Holocaust present the past accurately or through tainted lenses? For example, Horace Newcomb (1977) wrote, in a generally favorable review, that in Roots "one set of stereotypes replaces another: noble blacks become heroes while stupid, venal whites manage through superior firepower to hold their rotten culture together." Criticism comes also from those who feel that the slavery depicted in Roots was a watered-down version of the real thing (CIBC, 1977). Parallel objections are raised against Holocaust.

Second, and related to the issue of accuracy, do viewers of Roots and Holocaust learn about the history of blacks and Jews by watching? Do people develop a general sensitivity to minority history, do they learn specific facts, or do they learn nothing?

Third, do mini-series like Roots and Holocaust promote intergroup harmony or discord? Is Heydrich's widow right when she calls Holocaust irresponsible and likely to lead to a resurgence of latent anti-Semitism (New York Times, 1979)? Did many blacks react to Roots like the black teenager who, the morning after Kunte Kinte's foot was cut off on TV, walked into his New Orleans high school and said he wanted to fight somebody (New York Times, 1977)? Bomb threats surrounded the showing of Holocaust in West Germany and members of the Christian Defense League picketed WRBT-TV studios in Louisiana when the film was shown there.

Fourth, do shows like Roots and Holocaust change racial attitudes? Perhaps the people with the strongest positive reactions are those already most sympathetic to civil rights.

Like the immediate reviewers, social scientists have diverse answers to these questions. Experts have argued variously that programs of this type increase intergroup hostility, decrease intergroup hostility, and do not affect it at all. Consequently, Roots and Holocaust rank not only among the most heavily watched specials but also among the most heavily studied. Viewed as a whole, the accumulated evidence can answer several critical questions.

Eleven major surveys considered the impact of the two series and also the sequel, Roots: The Next Generation. While the surveys covered different areas and time periods, their results offer clear implications about the importance of such shows. Seven surveys dealt with Roots exclusively, two with Holocaust exclusively, one with Roots: The Next Generation, and one with both Roots, and Holocaust.

The surveys tell us, with some certainty, the racial and ethnic make-up of the Roots and Holocaust audiences. Blacks were more likely than whites to watch at least one episode of Roots, 97% to 76% (Hur, 1978, Cleveland teenagers), to watch six or more episodes, 72% to 55% (Howard

et al., n.d., adults nationwide), and to watch all eight episodes, 40% to 11% (Johnson, 1977, Madison teenagers). Jews were overrepresented among viewers of Holocaust, 5.4%, or twice their 2.7% share of the U.S. population. Blacks were underrepresented, 3% against a population proportion of 11.3% (American Jewish Committee, 1978). Jews were also more likely than average to view Roots. People identifying themselves as German-Americans were about as likely as other Americans to watch Holocaust (Shapiro, 1978, Illinois residents). Persecuted minorities, apparently, want to see TV shows that tell their side of the story.

The American public, in general, appears quite receptive to shows like Roots and Holocaust. The overall percentage of people who watched Roots was very high: 69% of the adults in the nation according to Harris (1977). Gallup (1978) found that 73% had either seen part of the series or read about it. According to Shapiro (1978, Illinois residents), 48% of adults saw Holocaust.

Moreover, viewers greatly enjoyed both specials. Seventy-seven percentage of Illinois residents who watched Holocaust were glad they had. (Of those who were sorry they had watched, 62% said the episodes were too brutal and sad; their answers perhaps reflect a different interpretation of the question rather than dissatisfaction with the show.) Eighty-three percent of a national sample gave Roots a positive rating; 50% described it as one of the best shows they had ever seen. Eighty-two percent felt that Roots was "beautifully produced and acted--a real work of art" (Harris, 1977). Overwhelmingly, then, those who watched Roots and Holocaust valued the experience.

The programs also elicited powerful emotional responses from most viewers. Howard et al. (1978) report that 44% of a national sample of viewers felt sadness after watching Roots, 24% felt anger, 22% tears or a lump in the throat, and 12.3% triumph. White females most frequently experienced sadness (58%), anger (32%), and tears (36%); white males felt those emotions least frequently (31%, 18%, and 8% respectively). Predictably, black males and females felt a sense of triumph and uplift more frequently than whites. Roots: The Next Generation brought out similar emotions. Researchers Wurtzel and Franklin (n.d.) discerned two categories of frequently reported emotions: (1) "Uplifting and positive emotion" characterized by agreement with statements like "Roots gave me a greater understanding for people of other races," and "Roots gave me a sense of hope in people's abilities to overcome hard times," and (2) "Emotional discomfort" characterized by guilt and anger. Holocaust also produced strong emotions. Feelings of horror and senselessness predominated; people reacted powerfully to the film's violence and brutality. They found it hard to understand how the Holocaust could occur. Respondents also felt sympathy with Hitler's victims (American Jewish Committee, 1978).

Although many people had a strong emotional reaction to Roots, viewers were unsure about its impact on American race relations. Howard et al. (1978) asked respondents to describe the effects Roots would have on white audiences. People of both races felt that the series would have either little effect or a benign effect on whites; 39% thought Roots would inspire more sympathy and tolerance for blacks, 34% believed it would lead to increased

awareness of black history, 22% thought whites would feel sorrow, guilt, shame, or anger, and only 8% predicted increased white prejudice. Thirty-four percent predicted no impact upon whites. (Percentages add to more than 100% since some respondents gave multiple answers.) Both blacks and whites were more concerned about the impact of Roots on blacks: 42% felt the program would lead to more black racism, hostility, and anger. By the time of Roots: The Next Generation, some of these fears had been laid to rest. Before the show, 69% of those predicting impact thought that Roots: The Next Generation would have positive ramifications for race relations; afterwards this percentage increased to 81% (Wurtzel and Franklin, n.d.).

Is this optimism justified? Do programs like Roots and Holocaust actually have a beneficial impact on intergroup relations? We shall focus on two issues: whether or not Roots and Holocaust helped educate audiences about minority groups and their histories, and whether the programs led to any lasting attitude change, for better or worse.

Survey evidence overwhelmingly supports the contention that by watching Roots and Holocaust many people thought they had learned a great deal about Jewish history and black history. More than 60% of both blacks and whites believed that Roots increased their understanding of the psychology of black people; more than half of the black viewers said the show stimulated their desire to study black history (Howard et al., n.d.). Five studies reviewed by Surlin (1978) agreed that a large majority, 60-80% of all viewers, believed that the historical perspective of Roots was accurate. Unfortunately, none of these studies actually made a before and after measure of respondents' knowledge of the past. With this caveat, however, we may conclude that most people, black and white, considered the Roots series educational and accurate. For many viewers, Holocaust also proved valuable as a learning experience. Of those who watched, 60% claimed the show gave them a better understanding of what Hitler's treatment of the Jews was all about. Non-Jews, more often than Jews, claimed that the program added to their understanding; also, people who had not completed college learned more than people who had. Seventy-five percent of all viewers felt that Holocaust painted an accurate picture of Hitler's Germany. Since only a third of the viewers considered themselves well-informed about Nazism (and only a fifth of viewers ages 18-29), teaching about Nazi Germany may indeed be a worthwhile task (American Jewish Committee, 1978). This is especially important considering the disgracefully incomplete treatment given to the Nazi genocide in history textbooks (Kane, 1970). The issue of historical accuracy becomes a question for professional historians because, in the main, Roots and Holocaust got the generalizations right. Millions of viewers received history lessons from them that they would never have been exposed to in high-school or even college history books.

The evidence for general attitude change is less convincing. While people often expect such changes, surveys find that attitude change on general racial issues is slight and infrequent. On basic feelings about discrimination, Harris (1977) found very little change following the presentation of Roots. In a pre-showing, post-showing design, Wurtzel and Franklin (n.d.) did note slight changes on several human rights issues and the importance attributed to them. Surprisingly, the effects of Roots: The Next Generation carried over into other human rights domains including women's rights. But as Hur (1978) cautions, the effects of Roots on perceptions of the hardships of

slavery were felt primarily by those who were already liberal. And according to Surlin (1978), "The blacks who were psychologically most hostile towards whites (high authoritarian blacks) were most apt to agree with the accuracy of the presentation, depicting whites as extremely cruel and insensitive to the black experience. However, high authoritarian whites were least apt to agree with the accuracy of the portrayal." With this sort of selective perception going on, it is unlikely that major attitude change occurred among authoritarian viewers. And previous research has established that authoritarian personalities are most likely to be highly prejudiced. Consequently, skepticism about major attitude change seems well-founded.

On the other hand, 91% of Holocaust's viewers claimed that the film led to increased anti-Nazi sentiments; 92% claimed that pro-Jewish feelings were aroused (American Jewish Committee, 1978). The Holocaust study did not include any before/after measures on attitudes towards Jews; people's responses probably indicate momentary support for Jews in the show and not generalized attitude change. None of the studies included long-term follow-ups but it is unlikely that the meagre changes in reported attitudes would last over a long time period. Television shows like Roots and Holocaust can teach about the past and they can evoke strong emotional reactions; little evidence supports the claim that they produce significant, lasting attitude change.

Many of the ways Roots and Holocaust influenced America were indirect. For example, many more books on black history and antisemitism were sold because of the TV shows. Holocaust inspired the distribution of nearly one million study aids on the destruction of European Jewry. Miami-Dade Community College developed a curriculum based on Roots for use in colleges and universities (Rein and Elliot, 1977). The shows stimulated much discussion on civil rights themes according to nearly all the surveys. Finally, Roots had a considerable effect upon the rhetoric of historians. Since the appearance of Time on the Cross (Fogel and Engerman, 1974) some historians had been arguing about whether slavery in the South was really as bad as "wage-slavery" in the North. Roots made clear the pervasive removal of choice, especially moral choice, that blacks suffered in the South.

Holocaust may have had more impact in Europe than in the U.S. In fact, the most startling statistics come from a poll in West Germany (Vinocur, 1979). Seventy-three percent found the show valuable, half said it brought them new knowldege of the Third Reich, and two-thirds called it a good history lesson for those who had not lived through the period. Overall attitudes towards Nazism changed significantly. Before the show, 49% of German adults thought that the plot to kill Hitler was justified; afterwards, 63% thought so. Those who favored halting the trials of Nazis fell from 51% to 35% and those who favored extending the statute of limitations on Nazi war crimes rose from 15% to 39%.

Considering the huge viewing audiences at home and abroad, it is not surprising that people want to see more shows like Roots and Holocaust. According to one study, viewers would especially like to see historical programs on the plight of Native Americans (Howard et al., n.d.). Television ought to develop its pro-social potential by depicting nonfiction events seriously. Viewers are strikingly receptive to such programs and commercial TV is a made-to-order vehicle; overwhelmingly, people said that the best way to reach them with this sort of message was on a commercial network, not on educational television (Shapiro, 1978).

Conclusions

1. TV shows like Roots and Holocaust are effective tools for teaching about minority history.

2. Such shows are more likely to promote intergroup understanding than prejudice.

3. Powerful emotions are generally evoked; usually these feelings involve sadness, anger that such evil could occur, tears, and triumph.

4. Although there isn't much evidence for basic attitude change on dimensions of prejudice and racism, some attitude change may occur on a small-scale, temporary basis.

5. People enjoyed Roots and Holocaust and would like to see more programming along similar lines.

6. Programs like Roots and Holocaust take steps towards developing television's pro-social potential.

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AMERICA REVISED (BUT STILL VERY WHITE)

Reviewed by Robert B. Moore

(Frances FitzGerald, America Revised. Boston: Little, Brown, 1979.)

Frances FitzGerald, author of a Pulitzer Prize book on Vietnam, has written a much acclaimed critique of U.S. history textbooks bringing long-overdue attention to an important topic. The scope of her exploration is impressive: from the early 1800's to the present. Her insightful analysis of texts' presentations of economics notes that students would be hard-pressed to understand what a corporation is or why significant portions

of the population remain locked in poverty. She finds that the evolving revision of our involvement in Vietnam increasingly down-plays the protest movement and suggests the war ended because Nixon and Kissinger wanted it to.

But America Revised has serious flaws, of particular concern given the attention it has been receiving. FitzGerald's negligible attention to sex bias is extremely disappointing. Her assertion that texts present early labor history effectively is sharply contradicted by more informed analysis (see Jean Anyon, "Ideology in U.S. History Textbooks," Harvard Education Review, August 1979). And her treatment of textbooks' presentations of race and racism, while offering useful insights, is frequently contradictory and lacks a conceptual framework.

In her opening pages, FitzGerald paints a picture of current texts which suggests that such stock (if not deified) characters as Columbus, Daniel Boone, Wild Bill Hickok, and Washington have been eclipsed by a black cowboy, a Chicano Congressman, Crazy Horse, and Martin Luther King. Opening with such "shocking changes" creates an impression of significant progress in textbooks' depiction of race. This impression is heightened by her statements that texts now "make mention of such people as Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X" or "discuss Malcolm X, Huey Newton, and Nat Turner." But this impression is not supported by more comprehensive analyses of race in texts nor by some of FitzGerald's own remarks.

We must examine how texts "make mention of" people of color. For example, a popular 1977 text states:

> Before his death, however, Malcolm X gave up his rigid racist position . . . Denouncing cooperation with white "liberals," the Black Panthers advocated immediate confrontation with "the white power structure," and the use of force, if necessary, to protect black Americans against aggressive "white racism" . . . Moderate black leaders shared many of the objectives of the "Black Power" movement, but they rejected its tactics and denounced the appeal to black racism . . . (Todd and Curti, 1977, 715).

This quote contains this text's only use of the terms "racism" and "racist"! The differential use of quotation marks for "white racism" and not for "black racism" or Malcolm's "racist position" reflects an obvious bias, particularly in light of the 1968 Kerner Commission Report (which is mentioned) and its identification of "white racism" as the root cause of racial disturbances (which is omitted).

FitzGerald is aware of some textbook shortcomings on race. While

> current texts [include] some material on all the large racial and ethnic groups, they have not succeeded in treating them all equally. . . . The treatment of European minorities is far more realistic than that of non-European minorities. . . . Though most books delineate the social and economic institutions that made life so hard for the nineteenth-century immigrants, they do not always do the same for the non-white Americans in modern times.

The newer texts, FitzGerald further observes, may mention that minority groups are "discriminated against" and report them struggling "to achieve full rights," but rarely from the perspective of the strugglers and without indicating against whom or what the groups are struggling. The texts fail to illuminate the processes of institutional racism, instead implying that prejudiced attitudes are responsible for discrimination.

FitzGerald confronts "a real dilemma" when contemplating the feasibility of a truly "multi-racial, multi-cultural" history text. She gloomily forecasts that if texts were to consider the diverse perspectives of racial minorities and women on events:

> American history becomes unbelievably complicated . . . The message . . . would be that Americans have no common history, no common culture, and no common values, and that membership in a racial or cultural group constitutes the most fundamental experience of each individual. The message would be that the center cannot, and should not, hold.

While not arguing that we have the singular culture that our texts suggest, FitzGerald cannot conceive of the viability of a text that would include diverse perspectives. Thus, by default, she implies that traditional white and male perspectives are the only viable means by which U.S. history can be presented or the "center" held.

FitzGerald's observations contain a contradiction that points to a central problem in current textbook portrayals of race. She tells us, on the one hand, that in the texts of the 50's and much of the 60's, "American was perfect: the greatest nation in the world, and the embodiment of democracy [and] freedom." By the early 70's, "most of the books had been rewritten to include the history of blacks in America" and their perspectives on events. On the other hand, she claims that "this rewriting of history involved no profound alteration; it was merely a matter of putting in what was not there before." The contradiction behind such observations is succinctly noted by Vincent Harding:

> Black history . . . cannot be assimilated into the mainstream American story . . . Black history . . . is an explosion of the white assumptions concerning American society.

Serious study of the experiences and realities of black people in the U.S., as James Oliver Horton has noted, brings:

> confrontation with the American myth . . . . The Black experience, much like that of women, Indians and some other minorities, is distinctly "un-American" . . . . If the careers of many black leaders illustrate the American myth, the experience of black people in America illustrates the failure of the American system (1976, 36).

Thus what FitzGerald has found in current texts is not the history of blacks in the U.S., but merely a revision of traditional white history that adds in some exceptional blacks who "made it."

Within this context, it is not surprising that FitzGerald observes that current texts "rarely show a non-white person who is brutalized, dirty or even poor . . . . There are almost no pictures of black sharecroppers, or black laborers of any kind unless they are in integrated groups wearing hardhats." She notes that most minority people pictured are "smiling so hard you would think that all non-white people in the United States took happy pills." Incredibly, however, she claims this situation results from publishers' response to minority group pressure to prevent depictions that would "offend group sensibilities." She is more realistic when she states that texts avoid mentioning what minorities are struggling against, "in order to sell books to a majority." That white majority controls textbook writing, production and selection, and its sensibilities have always been less offended by images of smiling, happy "darkies" than by the stark realities of a racist society.

FitzGerald maintains that the "current version of the history of racial minorities in America represents the compromise that the publishers have made among the conflicting demands of a variety of pressure groups." She equates minority and progressive groups on the one hand with white fundamentalist groups on the other and suggests they exert equal pressure on hapless publishers, who view themselves, with justice according to FitzGerald, as "beleaguered, even persecuted people." This analysis contains a fundamental flaw, for FitzGerald ignores the white male control of the publishing industry and of the educational establishment. This alliance played a key role in maintaining the virtual exclusion of minorities and women from history texts from the 1800's to the mid-1960's and continues to limit the nature of their inclusion today. In that context, the publishing industry and conservative white groups are better seen as fellow travellers and the self-proclaimed neutrality and objectivity of the publishers as rhetoric. FitzGerald herself notes that the opposing pressures on publishers have resulted in books that "now include works by blacks, women, etc., which do not mention the issues that concern these groups the most." This process might be "compromise" to FitzGerald, but others find it a superficial whitewash in which minority viewpoints and concerns remain--once again--invisible.

"The truth," FitzGerald tells us, "is always political," and the struggle over the definition of historical "truth" for children is ongoing and shifting with the political winds of society. It has taken enormous energy by progressive organizations to wrest some relatively superficial changes from a resistant industry. What, if anyting, the texts of the next decade tell students about the 1980 of Miami and Chattanooga, police brutality and white jury verdicts, high minority unemployment and social service cutbacks, Haitian refugees and Mexican migrants, is still to be determined. Continued and increasing pressure is necessary not only to get texts that deal more honestly with race, but to prevent backsliding. Unfortunately, because Frances FitzGerald's useful insights and observations are set within generally inadequate discussion of race, America Revised will be more likely to lull the unaware reader into complacency than to develop awareness of the need for action.

REVIEW: MINORITY EDUCATION AND CASTE
Reviewed by Barbara J. Shade
(Ogbu, John W. Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective. London: Academic Press, 1978, xxi, 410 pp.)

The most important task facing the black community today is the promotion of better academic performance by Black American youth. Although there are many youth who perform well on the traditional measures of school success, the average performance of blacks as a whole still remains lower than that of other groups. Why is there this performance gap? Is the gap ever to be narrowed?

The most recent statistics in education indicate that Black Americans have substantially increased their numbers in higher educational systems and have also increased the number of students graduating from high school. Those who observe this trend suggest that it is the result of the compensatory education efforts. Ogbu, however, would undoubtedly argue that the change is the result of improved access to the occupational structure. According to this author, the poor academic performance of blacks is an adaptational response to a social and economic caste system. Therefore, the equalization of social status will produce an equalization in educational achievement.

Ogbu's theory is significantly different from that of those social scientists who usually attribute the blame for low academic success of blacks to group deficits. For the most part, Ogbu believes, most social scientists perceive black academic shortcomings as the by-product of deficits in the family or socialization patterns; deficits in the motivational or psychological makeup of the group; or deficits in genetically induced capabilities. Those who hold these views advocate the use of three primary strategies to improve performance, i.e., school integration, compensatory educational programs, or the acceptance of the poor performance because of the innate inferiority of those involved.

For each of these theories and proposed problem solving approaches, Ogbu assembles a clear, concise and reasonably objective summary. However, in addition, he carefully and methodically builds an argument against each using evidence which seems to indicate the possibility of different interpretations and solutions. Finally, Ogbu arrives at the conclusion that none of the theories or approaches have proven to be either acceptable or successful in narrowing the performance gap because, instead of eliminating the caste system, they are designed to reinforce it by promoting failure among blacks and success among whites.

To substantiate this claim, Ogbu examines the various economic periods in American history by identifying the occupational roles Black Americans were permitted to occupy during each era and the accompanying educational program to which they had access. In the pre-Civil War era, Black Americans in the South were needed as slaves; therefore access to education was denied. This policy was based upon the understanding that an educated person would be harder to control than a non-educated person. Although different, a job and educational ceiling also existed in the North. Here blacks were generally engaged in personal and domestic service and skilled craft positions. If a formal educational program was available, it was likely to be found in a private or separate "pauper" school.

After the Civil War during the period of European migration and territorial expansion, the role of black Americans changed. To eliminate the competition between the immigrants and blacks, Afro-Americans were restricted to agricultural, domestic and personal service, and basically unskilled and unpleasant jobs. This limitation of access was reinforced by the denial or reduction of the various compensatory educational programs developed and financed by the federal government and philanthropists.

The period between 1900 and 1960 was the era during which a biracial community emerged. Job opportunities and access to educational programs was dependent upon the community in which black individuals participated. The more education a black received, the more likely it was that the individual would be employed within the black community. Jobs outside of the community were carefully controlled.

Ogbu proposes that this historical linking of occupational and educational access precipitated an adaptational response on the part of Afro-Americans. The result was the development of cognitive, motivational, linguistic, social, and intellectual behaviors which apparently are incompatible with educational task requirements. This, Ogbu suggests, is usually the case in societies where a caste system exists. For example, the West Indians in Britain, the Maoris in New Zealand, the Scheduled Castes in India, the Buraku in Japan, and the Oriental Jews in Israel seem to have the same problems. As in the United States, these socially ostracized groups perform poorly in academic settings. As in the United States, the explanation for each group's performance is seen as the familial, cultural, social motivational and genetic deficits present in the subculture. And like this country, the other societies advocate similar reforms and rehabilitative efforts which produce the same negative results. He concludes, therefore, that if the performance gap is to be eliminated for any group, social policies must be enacted which provide equal access to the various social and economic roles within the society.

The publication of this book places John Ogbu among the growing ranks of authors who see the schools as mere reflections of society. Colin Greer of The Great School Legend, Ivar Berg who wrote Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery, and Joel Spring, author of Education and the Rise of the Corporate State all suggest that the schooling process is stratified and designed to training children only for their ascribed social roles. Therefore, if one wishes to effect change within the educational system so that it benefits all people, basic changes must first be made in the society from which the school emanates. Ogbu concurs.

CONTRIBUTORS

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FROM THE DIRECTOR

On November 4th, the voters of Miami and Dade County, Florida, approved by a wide margin a proposition which bars the use of local funds to support bilingual programs or cultural programs other than those which transmit "United States culture."

In October, the House of Representatives adopted a rider to an appropriations bill which would forbid the Department of Education from requiring local school districts to meet the needs of students with limited proficiency in English through programs of bilingual instruction, rather than simply through intensive instruction in English.

These actions in part are a reaction to fears stimulated by increasing immigration to the United States of people from Mexico, Central and South America and Southeast Asis--fears that national strength and unity may be impaired by the growth of foreign languages and cultures. Yet our strength as a nation has always been thought to inhere in the capacity to accomodate many languages and cultures and to make use of their diverse attributes to enrich our national life. Diversity need not be a threat as long as we adhere to a common set of democratic values and understand enough of cultures different from our own to accord them respect rather than fear.

This issue of the CLEARINGHOUSE examines the contemporary record of some of our major institutions--notably the media and public schools--in transmitting an understanding of the distinctive histories, tribulations and contributions of major ethnic groups in this country. While the research surveyed does not feed into any single national policy decision it may provide a useful measuring rod in a time when xenophobia seems to be on the rise, when "moral majoritarians" appear ready to override even the constitutional rights of minorities to impose their own social values.

With this issue, we bid a fond and regretful farewell to Jim Loewen who, after two years of enlivening the prose of the CLEARINGHOUSE and the dialogue at the Center, has returned to the Sociology Department at the University of Vermont. We welcome Diana Pearce from the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle who will bring to the editorship of CLEARINGHOUSE a wealth of experience in teaching, writing and thinking about housing and welfare problems and other issues of race, sex and social inequality.

SEEKING SOCIAL SCIENCE

The first issue of Volume IX will be on the topic of "Measuring Race and Sex Discrimination." We invite contributions, particularly those on such questions as how one determines that affirmative action programs are "working," what are appropriate measures or evidence of discrimination, whether they are the same for women and minorities, and whether segregation (e.g., in schools, or housing, or occupations) is a measure of discrimination. Manuscripts may review or present research, or both, but should not exceed twenty pages double-spaced. Send two copies to Diana Pearce, Editor, Center for National Policy Review, Catholic University Law School, Washington, DC 20064.

Also welcome are suggestions for topics to be covered. If you would like to see a particular subject dealt with here, and/or would like to be a guest editor, please contact the editor at the above address or by phone (202) 832-8525.